Why do we need to foster moral competence and how?1

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Most, if not all people want to live together peacefully and solve problems and conflicts on the basis of commonly accepted moral principles—like freedom, justice, cooperation (in old times called "brotherhood") and truth—through deliberation and discussion instead of through violence and deceit. This quest for a democratic form of living is a high moral ideal which people hold everywhere in the world. People are not very outspoken about it when they feel that these ideals are largely achieved, but they raise their voice when they experience a gap between their ideals and the reality they see. In order to pay tribute to these ideals many countries have incorporated them into their names. They call themselves *republic* (*res publica*, Latin for everyone's matter), *democratic* (Webster Dictionary: self-ruling, self-government by the people), *people's republic* (people's matter of everyone), or *people's democratic republic* (people's self-rule of everyone's matter). The power and proliferation of this ideal is also demonstrated by the people who sacrifice their health and their lives for it.

But, why then exist so much unfreedom, injustice, corruption, and violence in our world? Why are existing democracies far from being perfect? Why do some "people's democratic republics" not even grant the most basic democratic rights like free and secret voting to their people? Why is even in the most "developed" democracies, the power of decision-making concentrated in a small elite, freedom restricted by many laws, justice imperfect and cooperation threatened by corruption and exploitation? Why do many people vote against democracy by electing anti-democratic parties and politicians?

Some say that the answer to this question is to be found in the "system." They argue that a better world can be achieved only through a change of the system and a replacement of the ruling elites. But this argument, I believe, is invalid. Replacing the elites may change the slogans but usually does not change the system. *Demo*cracy, the rule by the people, depends foremost on the people. If the people are not prepared for living in a democracy and for taking up responsibility for their own life and for the public good, they easily overburdened by it. If people lack the ability to solve problems and conflicts themselves on the basis of moral-democratic principles through deliberation and discussion with others, then they can solve them only through the use of violence and deceit, or through submitting to some authority. (Lind 2019)

¹ This text is taken from my "Discussion Theater & KMDD Training Manual—DKTM", which can be downloaded from https://tinyurl.com/yyq67p6z

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Moral competence is needed because moral ideals or principles, on which we base our everyday decisions are very general and vague and need *translation*. They are mostly unconscious, rooted in our feelings rather than in our conscious thinking. We think about them consciously only when we encounter a conflict, dilemma or problem. That is, when our moral feelings collide with each other, or when others ask us to defend our decisions, we become aware of our unconscious moral feelings. In order to give reasons we have to do an error-prone "translation" of our unconscious feelings into words. This process takes time and effort. It can fail: "Oh, sorry, I did not mean to say this! I used the wrong word," we sometimes exclaim. It fails the more, the less time we have, the less experienced we are in doing this, and the less familiar we are with the "others" whom we explain our moral feelings.

Moral competence is needed because our moral feelings are too broad and undifferentiated and need specification. "People cannot be trusted," we may think when we read in the news about the verdict of a corrupt politician. Especially when we feel morally excited and feel under pressure of time and of other people, it is often hard to make our reason and emotions agree. Emotions are essential for human life. They energize our behavior. They store our own experiences and collective experiences of our community. Yet, if we are not able to control our emotions through our reason, we can become destructive to others and to ourselves. This is why we need the ability to critically reflect on our moral emotions. Moral competence helps to finetune our moral emotions and make them more productive. For example, when we feel very upset about an unfair decision, we feel how our emotions take control of our behavior. We try to use brute force to correct the unfairness, use deceit to cover up any failure, or call on the authority to act on our behalf, or we look the other way. Only when we had the opportunity to develop moral competence, we can guide our decisions on the basis of our moral ideals and principles, and can discuss the right course of action with other people. The better we can do this the more we make external control of our emotions and external solutions of our problems and conflicts superfluous. If all people had been given an opportunity to use and develop their moral competence to that level, there might be no need for police officers, courts and prisons anymore.

Moral competence is also needed because the meaning of moral principles is often contested and requires *judgment*. It is not easy to judge in concrete situations what "justice" means. We may feel that something is "not just." But when we try to explain why we feel so, that is, when we need to put our feelings into words, and when we need to respond to questions in a debate with others, we soon discover that the process of articulation and discussion requires certain abilities.

Last but not least, moral competence is needed because our moral ideals often come in conflict with each other and confront us with a dilemma, which we need to resolve. We want to save the environment but also want to use its resources. We want freedom but also want security. We want low prizes on our food but also the producers to be paid fairly. We want free communication but also protected our privacy, and so on. Thus, we are continuously confronted with moral dilemmas: Which course of action should be taken? Which is less wrong? This

means that we must be able to deal with difficult problems and conflicts, and must weigh one ideal against the other. We must endure opposing thoughts and opponents. We must learn to take all consequences of our decisions into account. And often we must do all this within short time. Often problems cannot wait.

Translation, specification, judgment and dilemma resolution are all demanding abilities which are not inborn but must be learned. No wonder that we often find it hard to live in a democracy and behave in accordance with our own moral principles.

The level of moral competence varies from situation to situation and also from person to person. Overall it is low, often too low for living together peacefully in a family, neighborhood, town or in a democracy. For this people do not need to be perfect but they need to develop at least some moral competence. Experimental studies suggest that for this all citizens should achieve at least a test score of C = 20.0 on the *Moral Competence Test* (MCT), which ranges from zero to 100, or a Stage score of three on the Kohlberg moral stage development scale, which ranges from Stage 1 to 6. Only when people's scores reach this level, they seem to be able to seize control over their behavior through their moral principles and need to be less controlled from outside.

My estimate of a minimum sufficient level of moral competence is based on many experimental and correlational studies on the impact of moral competence on various democracyrelated behaviors. These studies have used different tests of moral development, which tap moral competence more or less. (See Lind 2019 for more details) The Moral Competence Test (MCT) is an objective test of moral competence as manifested in a person's judgment behavior. This is operationalized as the ability to rate arguments for and against the protagonist's decision in regard to the arguments' moral quality instead of their opinion agreement or other qualities (C-score from zero to 100). The Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Interview (MJI) assesses the participants' Stage of reasoning in an interview on three or more dilemma stories (Stages 1 to 6). In the *Defining Issues Test* (DIT) people's moral competence is indirectly assessed by the degree to which participants prefer statements which express principled moral reasoning over lower Stage statements (P-score from zero to 95). The list below contains all experimental and correlational studies which I could find. Even though these studies have used different methods of measurement and have been conducted in very different populations, they all show a very similar picture. All show an impact of moral competence on these behaviors which are essential for living together peacefully in a self-governed community. Many show even a strong to very strong impact.

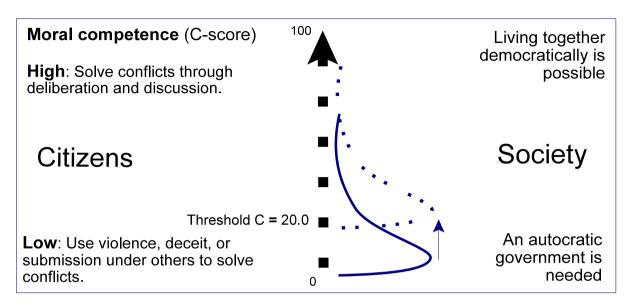
The threshold of 20.0 may look somewhat arbitrary and indeed it is a very crude estimate based on a crude mixture of experimental and correlational studies. But it is the best evidence we have and I am sure that more and better designed studies will not falsify our estimate. The curve which I added in the graph summarizes the findings from many studies regarding the distribution of moral competence worldwide. Unfortunately there are no representative surveys. But because there are so many studies done in many different populations, we can be sure that our overall impression is valid: most people do not reach the minimum moral competence level

of 20.0, required for living together in a democracy. If people are not able to solve problems and conflicts though thinking and discussion they will have to use violence and deceit or submit to autocrats. Thus when the people's moral competence is low a "strong" government and law-enforcing authority is needed to curb criminality and fights between the people. But a strong government can also become a source of criminality and violence itself, namely if people's moral competence is too low to be able to judge the moral competence of politicians. Eventually, these will turn a "strong democracy" into an autocratic dictatorship. Many dictators, however, realize that they owe their power to the low moral competence of their supporters. They are not interested in changing this. They replace democratic education by indoctrination. Thus a society is caught in a vicious cycle which is hard to interrupt.

We should not wait until it is too late. If we want to preserve freedom and democracy then we must prepare people better for democracy by fostering their moral competence, We must provide each and every person with sufficient opportunities to develop their moral competence. We must, as I have indicated with the arrow in the graph, move *all* people's moral competence above a C-score of 20.0.

Mission impossible? Not at all. After more than two decades working with the *Konstanz Method of Dilemma Discussion* and its sister method the *Discussion Theater*, and doing research on its efficacy, I am convinced that it is possible to foster moral competence very effectively at little costs. And no system, curriculum or timetable must be changed. However, these methods work only if applied by thoroughly trained teachers, and if institutions of higher education install teacher training programs in the field of moral competence development.

Living together in a democracy requires moral competence of all people



Moral competence impacts these behaviors:

Findings from correlative und *experimental* (in *italics*) studies.

■ Freedom:

- ► Refusing to obey immoral orders, Milgram-Experiment (MJI) 11
- ► Making autonomous judgment, Ash-Experiment (MCT, MJI, DIT) 18, 26
- ▶ Rejecting violence as a means of politics (MCT) 14
- ► Engaging for democratic rights (MCT, MJI) 5, 6
- ▶ Doing open classroom teaching (MCT) 14

Justice:

- ► Keeping the law (MJI, MCT) 1, 8, 24
- ► Keeping a contract (MJI, DIT) 12, 9
- ► Being honest, resist cheating (MJI) 11, 21
- ▶ Blowing the whistle (MCT, DIT) 21, 25

Cooperation:

- ► Helping people in distress (MJI) 17, 11, 22
- ► Saving Jews under great own risk (MCT) 4
- ► Sizing up the moral competence of others (MCT) 23

■ Social and individual competence:

- ► Making decisions swiftly (MCT) 16, 20
- ► Behaving well in the classroom (MJI, MCT) 1, 10, 3
- ► Learning well and getting good grades (MCT) 7, 13, 19
- ► Avoiding drug consumption (MCT) 13
- ► Tolerating ambiguity (MCT) 15
- Showing ego-strength (MCT) 15
- ► Supporting peace movements (MCT) 5

Measurement instruments:

MCT - Moral Competence-Test

MJI - Moral Judgment Interview

DIT - Defining Issues Test

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What do DT/KMDD directors/teachers need do learn?

I started to develop the *Konstanz Method of Dilemma-Discussion (KMDD)*® in the mid 1990ies in order to foster people's moral-democratic competence effectively and efficiently. I wanted it to have stronger *effects* than other methods of moral and democratic education and be effective not only for some but for all people. The method should not create a democratic or moral elite but should help to strengthen society as a whole. A moral or democratic elite is a contradiction in itself. Therefore the method should also be *efficient*, that is, it should be effective with a minimum investment of time and money, so it could be used by and for everyone.

As a blueprint I used the dilemma discussion method developed by Moshe Blatt and Lawrence Kohlberg (1975). Blatt, the story goes, suggested to Kohlberg, who was the mentor of his dissertation, to use the stories which they employed in their interviews for measuring moral development, also for fostering moral development. Indeed Blatt's idea worked well. It worked much better than any other method of moral and democratic education as I showed in a meta-analysis of about 150 intervention studies. (Lind 2002) I was impressed by the fact that, though the size of the effect varied greatly among the participants, none showed a negative effect. I was also impressed that the overall effect size of this method was much higher than the effects of most other educational and psychological treatment methods published at that time (Lind 2002). Therefore, in the mid 1980ies I proposed to the secretary of education of Nordrhein-Westfalen, the largest German state, to try out the Blatt-Kohlberg method and the Just Community method (also developed by Kohlberg and his team) in some of his schools. With the help of some experts (Fritz Oser, Sibylle Reinhardt, Jürgen Raschert, Peter Dobbelstein and Heinz Schirp) we trained teachers of a Gymnasium (college prep high school, grade level 5 to 13), a Realschule (5 to 10) and a Hauptschule (5 to 9) to use these two methods over a period of about three years (some programs were shorter). Our survey of the participating principals, teachers, students and parents at the end of the project showed a high level of acceptance. Our pretest-posttest comparison showed strong effects in all participating students. (Lind & Raschert 1987; Lind & Althof 1992; Lind 2002)

Two incidents hit us badly. In spite of these good results, the secretary of education discontinued the project for unrevealed reasons. It seems that political issues motivated his decision that had little to do with the project. And Kohlberg declared the method of dilemma discussion as dead. (Kohlberg 1985) He acknowledged that it was effective but he argued that teachers who were using it experimentally, did not continue using it after the experiments ended.

I was not convinced by Kohlberg's analysis and his conclusion. I believed that he underestimated the effect size of his method because he used inadequate statistical criteria ("significance"). This criterion is always low when, as in this case, the intervention groups are restricted in size. For my meta-analysis I used so-called effect size measures for which sample size plays no role. Here the dilemma method came out much stronger. I also believed that the dilemma method would be accepted much more by teachers if the teachers were better prepared for using them. Kohlberg admitted himself that their preparation was meager. In fact the better prepared teachers in our project continued to use dilemma discussion long time after the project ended. They did not need to be

motivated by us.

Finally I believed that dilemma discussion would be even more effective and better acceptable by teachers and students if the Blatt-Kohlberg-method was changed in three important ways:

- Firstly, the time for students to think and discussion should be made longer. In the Blatt-Kohlberg version students had only 45 minutes for discussing three to five dilemma stories. Hence the teacher used up most of the time for instruction and the students had very little time left for thinking and discussion. In the KMDD we let students discuss only one story and give them much more time (90 minutes) for thinking about, and discussing it.
- Secondly, the students should articulate their *own* arguments supporting their stance on an issue, instead of absorbing the model arguments which, according to Blatt and Kohlberg, the teacher should give them ("plus 1 convention"). I thought that this was not only more effective but also in better agreement with Kohlberg's own theory of active learning.
- Thirdly, the teachers should be able to measure the effects of dilemma-discussion sessions with a short, transparent, easily manageable, and yet valid and fully objective test of moral competence. This would give them the opportunity to evaluate the efficacy of their teaching continuously and thus to improve the dilemma method. Therefore I started to develop such an instrument (the MCT) before I turned to teaching. Indeed, the objective feedback which is made possible by the MCT has helped me to increase the effect size of the KMDD even more.

Because of these profound changes, I gave the method a new name: *Konstanz Method of Dilemma Discussion* (KMDD)®. And in order to protect the KMDD-teachers' investment of time and money, I registered it as an international trade mark.

In the past years not many changes needed to be made to the KMDD. But there have been some changes (as I will show in this manual) and further changes are possible if there are good reasons for them and if they show to really increase its efficacy, or at least do not lower it.

During the first five years I tried out the changes to the KMDD by offering KMDD sessions in schools in the Konstanz area. At first the teachers and principals were a bit suspicious but soon they became eager to learn about a new method of moral and democratic education. I could bring along some of my students, and the class teacher asked some of his or her colleagues to join us as observers. Teachers and principals asked me sometimes to do KMDD sessions also with the whole teacher body. Teacher unions and teacher associations wanted have me demonstrate the method by conducting KMDD sessions with their members.

In 2003, the Secretary of Education of Bogotá asked me to offer Colombian teachers a training and certification program so that they could learn how to use the KMDD. I did a one-week workshop in March, gave out assignments for practicing the method, and in September the Secretary and I convened a two-day certification workshop where the teachers reported and showed what they have achieved. Of the beginning 70 or so teachers, about twenty attended and became certified. The training and certification program for Colombian teachers was an incentive to develop such a program, which I later also offer teachers at home and in many other countries (like Brazil, Chile, China, Mexico, Poland, and Switzerland).

This project did not come out of the blue. Since 1997 a citizens' organization, the Secretary of Education and the Mayor of Bogotá had invited me several times to Bogotá to give talks, to run small workshops, to assist in a statewide survey of students' level of moral competence, and to consult with the government in order to help the peace process and the democratization in Colombia.

The newest development is releasing the KMDD as *Discussion Theater* (DT). The KMDD has been developed for use in institutions of education (from grade schools to professional schools, military academies, prisons, and so on). I felt that the KMDD incorporates already some theater-elements: like the storytelling and the teacher's role as "master of ceremonies." I felt reinforced when I reread some of the work by the great German playwright Friedrich Schiller. While in his earlier works he praised the theater as an ideal tool for marketing ideas, later, after reading Kant's writings on enlightenment, he requested that theater should have the goal *to free the thinking of the people*.

Yet I could not find a form of a theater which would put his goal into practice. A traditional theater, in which there is a sharp division between an active actors and a passive audience, cannot free the peoples' thinking. The thinking is done solely by the playwright and the director of a play. The audience can only passively listen, but their thinking is not freed. Often it is said that a play is to "stimulate" thinking but then does not leave time for the audience to think. There are some new forms of theaters, like Augusto Boa's theater of the oppressed, which seek to engage the audience more. Yet, the director still is intervening, which leaves the audience little room for really free thinking.

With the Discussion Theater I have translated Schiller's idea in a very radical way: There is no distinction between actors and audience: all people in the room are participants. Consequently, there is no division between stage and house. There is only a rudimentary program: Nine acts (identical with the nine phases of the KMDD) which are introduced by the teacher, director or conférencier or how you want to call this person. And there are only two rules. These rules are the only true authority in the room. The discourse in the Discussion Theater is kept absolutely free from a human authority's intervention or grading. Besides introducing the acts and watching the rules, the teacher/actor must not interfere with the thoughts and discussion of the participants.

What to expect in the DT / KMDD-training

Can you imagine being a director and saying hardly anything for almost 90 minutes? That you keep back when you feel that you have something important to say. That each utterance must be well prepared and well done, mimics and body-language must be perfectly controlled, and yet all perfection must appear relaxed and leave room for improvisation and for eye-contact and nonverbal interaction with the participants?

If your answer is yes to these questions then you are ready to offer Discussion Theater / KMDD sessions and take part in my workshop and, later, in the certification program.

Can't one do this without training? On the basis of more than twenty years of doing KMDD sessions and supervising teachers doing KMDD sessions, my answer is clear: No. I had to teach

myself over several years how to do this well enough in order to achieve effects. Especially I had to learn how to get my body-language under control and how to pay attention to participants who say things which I deeply disagree with. I videotape my performances in order to check on myself. Often I caught myself talking more than I should, and commenting speakers through grimacing. One time, a teacher student asked me if he could try to direct a KMDD-session after only one workshop day. He felt it should be easy. Providently I told him to give me a secret sign when he gets stuck. It took only ten minutes when he signaled for help. I stepped in. Nobody noticed that this was an emergency. In meanwhile I have data from three intervention studies in which even longer trained teachers produced negative effects. To be fair I should also report about a first semester teacher student who conducted a great KMDD session at the end of our one-week workshop. But she was a rare exception.

This workshop will walk you through the KMDD / Discussion Theater step by step and give you the opportunity to practice its main elements in small groups, so you will get much practice and also immediate feedback. At the end you will know everything about this method and be able to do it without technical mistakes. However, you might not have developed yet enough routine to really care for your participants and move their moral competence scores upward.

Therefore, after you have completed this workshop, I offer an on-the-job-training program comprising about 80 hours of work which you can be spread over two months (with the possibility to extend somewhat if necessary). This prepares you for the certification as a KMDD-Teacher. If you do some kind of teaching you can integrate most of the exercises into your regular work. Extra work is generated by the requirements (a) to document your learning process in a portfolio, (b) to self-evaluate the efficacy of one of your KMDD-sessions with applying the *Moral Competence Tests* (MCT) before and after that session, and (c) by producing an uncut "best-practice video" of one of your DT/KMDD-sessions. At the end of the one-week workshop I will explain this in more detail and give you an opportunity to ask questions.

In order to learn from your mistakes, you should use several sources: your peers in the small practicing groups during the workshop, videotape, the test-scores of your participants (do they show an increase?), and this manual with its checklists. For the training and certification process you should also have someone available for peer supervision. Each candidate must serve as a peer-supervisor. So the best thing is to team up with another participant of the workshop before everyone departs. I will also do one supervision for each candidate. I will do this either personally during one of your DT/KMDD-sessions, or through watching an uncut video.

Last but not least, you should always remember that the final goal of the KMDD / Discussion Theater is to help to make a better world and that this can only be achieved if all people will become able to solve their problems and conflicts themselves, through thinking and discussion with family members, friends, neighbors and other people, even if this is very difficult.

If you think that this is easy, just watch on Youtube some videotaped interviews with people who use violence for solving their problems and conflicts. You will see how hard it is for them to articulate their point of view and keep up a conversation without becoming swayed by their emotions. They can hardly keep their emotions under control. No wonder that many people say that

they don't dare to talk about touchy issues with any other people because they fear the outbreak of an animosity of even their best friends.

Of course, there are also "white-collar criminals" who can very eloquently deceive us about their bad behavior and the most evil atrocities. Usually you recognized them because they do not allow critical questions or questions at all because they would not be able to answer them without new deceptions. It seems that deception is verbally disguised violence. Like violence, people need deception when they are not able to solve problems and conflicts through moral means, that is, on the basis of moral principles through rational thinking and free discourse.

This is why I am very pleased when participants of Discussion Theater and KMDD give me such feedback: "I have not taken part in an intensive discussion on a really important issue like this for years. I am amazed that we had such a heated discussion over such a long time without becoming personal or saying something about a person. It was always so respectful."

How Discussion Theater / KMDD can be used

If well done, a single performance or session can improve the average moral competence of the participants considerably. Beginners should expect only moderate increases of the moral competence score (C score) of their participants by three to five points. If there is only little increase of test scores or even a drop, you should do some additional training. You can repeat the exercises which you will learn in the workshop and review your performance with the help of video tapes and a supervisor.

As you develop more routine and expertise you will achieve increases beyond this. Five to twelve C-points are possible. This is a huge increase, if you compare this with the lower increases achieved even by good schools in a whole year. I will show you how one can measure the impact of your teaching/performing during the workshop.

We do not ave sufficient data to be able to estimate the effects of two and more sessions. But I assume that the effect size will not grow proportionally to the number of sessions. Probably the first session has the biggest effect and the effect size of the subsequent sessions becomes lower. So it would be more important to let as many people as possible participate rather than offer the method to a few people many times.

DT / KMDD is not only much more effective in promoting moral and democratic competence than other approaches. Its great advantage over other approaches is also that this method requires little time (90 minutes as compared to many days and weeks other methods require) and requires no change of the "system," that is, no changes of time tables, curricula or vacation planning.

These are the good news. The "bad" news is that it requires the teacher/performer to be very well trained and very well prepared for each session. It seems a paradox but it is true: because the teacher/director has only a small part in the "play," this part is hard because a very food performance is decisive for the success of the play. I speak of play, although such sessions are no play at all for the participants. When they vote on the rightness or wrongness of the protagonist's decision, they vote

really. When they are asked to defend their vote and try to convince their opponents that they are wrong, these opponents are real opponents for them. Discussion Theater is not like Bert Brecht's *epic theater*. While in an epic theater the audience is "forced [!] to see the world as it is," Discussion Theater takes the audience as it is—that is, it sees them as participants and not merely as audience. While an epic theater is tough on the audience, Discussion Theater is tough on the teacher/director.

There are many methods which involve—some way or the other—discussions. However, as far as I can tell, most of these methods differ profoundly from Discussion Theater / KMDD. Most if not all, are not based on a well-researched psychological theory or any theory at all. Therefore, there are no criteria for judging their success other than the subjective feeling of the convener and the participants. Thus, there is also no objective method for measuring their efficacy. This is perfectly OK if these methods do not claim to be efficient, but want to be only entertaining or fulfilling the requests of some audience. But if methods are said to foster moral-democratic competence and financial support is requested from the government, one should be able to demonstrate their efficacy through objective measurements before and after their application, and also compare their efficacy with other methods or with natural development. All this can be shown for the DT / KMDD. (Lind 2002) To my knowledge, this method is the only method in the field of moral and democratic development which has objectively demonstrated its efficacy.

There are some methods which seem to be effective. This has been shown to be true especially for good schools and good university programs in our country. (Lind 2002) But their effects are considerably lower than those of DT / KMDD and, which is often overlooked, they result from a much greater investment of time and money on various levels of the school system. That is, they are much less efficient. Moreover, the effects of good schooling depend much on individual teachers, schools and fields of study, and their effects do not reach all people. Large proportions of adolescents are not reached at all, namely those who leave the public schools system after nine or ten years for good. We do not know at all how effective special schools are like private schools, comprehensive schools or special education schools because we have no data. But overall, our schools do not enough to foster the moral competence of their students. Else the population would show a higher level.

We know that schools and universities in most other countries are little or not effective at all in regard to fostering the moral competence of their citizens. The data are scarce but sufficient to make an overall estimation. In a very large study of school students in Bogotá, it was shown that their moral competence grows until 10th grade, but then regresses. An evaluator from the secretariate of education told me that they observed a similar development in the subjects like Spanish and mathematics. The preparation for the graduation tests seems to severely impede learning across the board. The reliance of examinations on standardized tests increases also in German schools and universities today. We do not have any data yet, but I sense that this is also impeding learning here, especially moral and democratic learning. Methods like DT / KMDD are urgently needed.

There are many methods of political education, ranging from transmitting knowledge about the institution of democracy like voting, parliament, government and the judicial system, to programs of participation in political decision making. In Germany, much public money is spent on this. All

students have to attend classes of political education for some years, each state has a center for

political education which supports schools and has own programs for the public. The ministry of

family affairs has advertised much money for democratic education projects, and so does the

European Community. But again, there is little known about the efficacy and efficiency of these

projects, and little done to remedy this lack of knowledge. So we see many competing for this money with old and new methods, of which we do not know whether they are effective or not. Therefore it

is questionable whether this money is wisely spend and really helps to protect democracy against

collapse.

My hope is that together we can convince the public that the effective fostering of all people's

moral-democratic competence is possible.

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